2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 177 533 [539] Parading around the unlit fire in the centre of the *milimika*, the performers chanted a telephone song, the literal translation of which is, "Hallo, that telephone there, hallo, yes, yes," some, as they did so, imitating the winding of the handle of an old-type magneto telephone.

When the fire, which had been started by a young man, was well alight, the men performed the ritual of *wandiatapinda* by jumping through flames and smoke, each shouting "telegraphy".

The men again assembled at the edge of the *milimika*, and, led by the *alowia*, called the localities on Melville Island where the white men had camped. As each name was called the aborigines shouted "*wja*" (yes).

One dancer held his hands high above his head, symbolizing a radio aerial, while his companions chanted the following words to the refrain of the telephone song:

[539] "The Queen sent a radio asking *Wurarbuti* and other men to dance for her."

Then followed songs related to the radio and the telephone. These were usually performed with the traditional steps and gestures, except that, at the end, the actor mimed the ringing up with one hand, and the holding of the [535] telephone to the ear with the other.[80] As the men danced, the women moved into the *milimika* from the side, performing their own dance, the *amburu* (Pl. 30B), some of them crying and endeavouring to beat themselves. They were, however, restrained by their companions.

765 After a number of dances came the ceremony of appointing the men to carry out the work near the grave.

[616] At the death of any person the tribe divides into two groups: the *pukamunis*, near relatives of the dead, who are forbidden to touch food with their hands (Pl. 24A), or go near the grave, and the distant relatives, who can visit the grave site without fear of attack from the spirit (the *mopaditi*).

At *Waniamperi's* first *ilania*, the ceremonial leader chose, from the latter group, ten men, the *wanaras*, colloquially called the "workers". It was their duty to cut and paint the burial poles (one each), help to clear the grave site and dancing ground of sticks and stones, and to carry out other menial tasks associated with the final rituals. For these tasks, the "workers" were paid on the last day of the rituals.

When "workers" were chosen, the aged brother, *Nalgui*, of the dead man,

[80] This mixture of the ancient and the modern, shows how a living culture gradually absorbs the characteristics of an adjacent people, particularly those from a culture as dominant as our own.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The two forms of fire-jumping (described earlier, p. 73) were also used in these rituals. 765

The *ilanis* closed with the performance of the rite of *pumuti*, then the usual honey and mosquito calls.

5. THE FINAL PUKAMUNI RITUALS

(1) *The Pukamuni of Waniamperi*

For the sake of simplicity I will describe, under this heading, the rituals carried out during the last two days of the closing phases of the *pukamuni* ceremony of *Waniamperi*. These rituals took place about three months after burial and about a month after the performance of the first *ilanis* and the receiving of the message stick (Fig. 57, G, H) from the Bathurst Island aborigines. [202]

During these final ceremonies, the aborigines divided themselves into two groups; the Melville Island men and women, under the leadership of *Wurariuti*, and the Bathurst Island men and women, with a few of the Melville Island aborigines linked with them totemically, under their leader, *Jibungliahumi*. [616]

The "workers" had cleared two dancing grounds: one, Fig. 4A, about fifty yards south of *Waniamperi's* grave, belonging to the Melville Island aborigines, and the other, Fig. 4B, about thirty yards east, to the people from Bathurst Island.

There were seven decorated burial poles on *milimika*, A, and three on B (Fig. 4). The three poles, although cut and painted by the local men, had been given, with their permission, to the Bathurst Island group who were responsible for the payment of them. [432]

The final rituals extended over two days. After both groups had performed *ilanias* in the middle of the first morning, they spent about six hours decorating each other with elaborate facial and body designs, one of which, that of *Wurariuti*, is illustrated on the frontispiece. Other facial designs are illustrated on Pl. 28. In the late afternoon all the participants, men and women, moved to the two *milimikas* near the grave (Fig. 4A, B), where they performed a series of dances until dark. The aborigines camped nearby, most of them within a hundred yards of the grave. The next morning the final rituals started. [302]

These *pukamuni* rituals can be divided into five distinct phases—

(*a*) The opening rituals.

(*b*) The songs and dances.

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Each of these *ammya*, sometimes called Pukui (sun),[9] has a number of cult centres and in them resides the "old woman" of the clan; these are also called *ammya*. The sacred site of the Tukambani clan is at Morapeanga, Cape Keith; of the Miatui, Irapulanwa, Buchanan Island in the Apsley Straits; of the Kudjali, Padupi; Sanke Bay, or as the natives say in their quaint pidjin, Djenakaba, which is on the north of Melville Island, an old trepang site.

As far as could be ascertained, no fixed belief is associated with these clan centres. They are not burial caves invested with a ritual significance such as we find in parts of the mainland (Wadaman and other tribes), yet the shade or spirit of the dead does follow the track made by the natives as they come from the sacred centre to "show it the road." Only some natives know this. It is probably a ritual that has become lost with the advent of new ideas.

Clan Relationship. To marry within a major clan or phratry, *aramipi*, is taboo, *himiyari*. A person of one phratry can only marry into the other two major clans. Thus, all Tukambani and their kindred sub-clans are mother, mother's brother, mother's mother, mother's mother's brother, sister's son and daughter, brother and sister. They call people in the other two clans father, father's sister, son, daughter, wife, wife's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's brother, wife's mother's mother and wife's mother's brother. In other words, descent is matrilineal.

Marriage Law. The marriage law is the same as in most tribes: a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or, as the natives would say, "a man marries his group sister's son's daughter." They have equal exchange in marriage, that is "opposite brothers exchange sisters." An "uncle" (mother's brother) takes his (group) nephew's daughter, and the group nephew receives the uncle's daughter in exchange (cross-cousin type). There are neither subsections nor sections and indeed, no moieties. A reason may be suggested for this: being isolated on the island, each person knew his or her relationship to the others, and as there was no intertribal exchange, the need for this type of classification never arose. One of the important functions of the section and subsection systems is to facilitate intercourse between tribal groups.

The marriage system with relationship terms is explained in the following table:

		1		2
A	.. *ubunga* m.m.m.m. or sr.	*UWANI* M.M.M.M.B. or B. (Ego)	*yarbunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.
B	.. *yamoriy* m.m.m.	*YARMURDI* M.M.M.B.	*umbrenina* w.m.	*YAPINAWINI* W.M.B.
C	.. *imaninga* m.m.	*IMANANI* M.M.B.	*tumaliya* w.m.m.	*TAMALITI* W.M.M.B.
D	.. *inari* m.	*ILAMANI* M.B.	*umarani* w.m.m.m.	*IMERANINGA* W.M.M.M.B.
A	.. *ubunga* sr.	*UWANE* B.	*yabunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.

[9] These natives have numerous names for the same object, the result of the taboo on certain words after a death.